1; Schram M-5 (1911-1922) 1954 AE9 Monguor AE9

and a felt hat which is a simpler edition of the ceremonial hat with its additional ornament of a miniature spear and shield.

MARRIAGE AND ITS REGULATION

Because of the veneration of ancestors and the necessity for having male children in order to carry on the ancestral cult, marriage is not an optional but a necessary part of Monguor life, except of course for lamas. The poorest people will scrimp and save in order to be able to meet the expenses of getting a bride for a son. They will sell animals and land, and go into debt. When a paternal inheritance is divided, money must first be set aside to provide wives for the brothers who are not yet married. People will be consoled or resigned at the death of a husband or wife, but never for the death of an only son, and the sweetest consolation of an old man nearing death is to have married all his sons and to have cradled his grandsons. When two old Monguors meet for the first time, the polite greeting includes the question, "are all your sons married and do you have grandsons?"

Exogamy is the first rule of marriage and is strictly observed among the nobles. There is absolute prohibition against marrying a girl belonging to the same clan. Within the clan, therefore, there are no marriages between nobles and commoners, because all bear the same clan name. It has already been noted above, however, that there began to be exceptions to this rule among the commoners in the period of decay and breakdown of the Monguor society, partly because the commoners are in fact not the actual descendants of the ancestors of the noble clan but merely "assimilated" as a result of being the subjects of the noble clan, with the result that poor nobles began to marry their daughters to sons of commoners. It has also been noted that this loosening of the rules among the commoners was aided by the enrollment of Tibetans and Chinese in the Monguor clans; Tibetan and Chinese women were frequently married by Monguor commoners, and occasionally by the nobles.

The rule of exogamy makes impossible marriage between the children of two brothers, but marriages between the children of a brother and a sister are allowable and even frequent, because the sister married out of her brother's clan and her children and his children therefore have different clan names. Very often, also, when family *A* gives a girl to family *B*, family *B* reciprocates by giving a girl to be married to a boy of family *A*. In all marriages, however, boys and girls must be of the same generation—a custom which may be the result of Chinese influence.

The influence of wealth on marriage is of several kinds. The fact that chiefs of clans and rich nobles and rich commoners are prone to marry girls from rich families, including Chinese families, has already been mentioned. The influence of wealth is also shown when

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that the assumption of this role by the maternal uncle was only one of several non-patriarchal features introduced into the Monguor system as a result of contact with matriarchal systems. Third, that the property, assistance, and respect relationships which existed between a brother and his sister and her children, as described above, were not specific to either the patriarchal or matriarchal systems, but were founded in human nature, in conditions common to both systems. Fourth, I would add that normally the sister and her children are respected and loved in the husband's family and go through life happily—more because the two families are really friendly and intimate than because of the maternal uncle's power to intervene. After all, the solid foundation of families is not fear and hatred but love, and the functions of the maternal uncle must be viewed with not only his emergency powers in mind, but this as well.

THE CHILD

858 562

Among the Monguors, as in most societies in Asia, boys are preferred to girls. The description given by Father J. Van Oost of the favoritism shown toward boys among the Mongols of the Ordos might well have been written of the Monguors:

> He is surrounded with a kind of idolatry. His parents are proud of him; they cater to all his whims; they rush to dry his tears. A mother is always ready to suckle her son whenever he seems to want it, whether it be night or day. He is a petty tyrant who knows how to make himself obeyed, and his mother carries him around on her back when she is doing her household work. . . . If he gets sick, there is a major crisis. They think he is the victim of evil spirits. They resort to superstitious practices and go to fetch a lama who makes divinations, conjures away the spirits and prescribes remedies and talismans.[23]

843 562

When a woman is pregnant the whole village knows about it, and all of the women and girls are eagerly interested. Every soothsayer passing through the village is invited to foretell the sex of the expected child, and all the young wives ask him to foretell also when they themselves may expect a similar blessed event. When a pregnant woman enters a doorway and steps over the threshold, the other women always watch to see which foot she puts forward first. They believe that if she regularly steps over a threshold with the right foot, the child will be a boy; if it is the left foot, it will be a girl. This is because they believe that a son lies on the left side of the womb and a daughter on the right; accordingly, if the left side is heavy the mother will instinctively raise her right foot when making a step upward.[23a]

The festivities for the birth of a first son are especially important, and among the ways of propitiating fate to provide a long life, the selection of a lucky name is particularly important. Matters of such importance in the

[23] Van Oost, *Au pays des Ortos*, as cited, 102.

[23a] Compare the Mongol expression *kul kundu*, "leg-heavy," for "pregnant."—O. L.

[P. 99a]

852 may be either a real brother or a classificatory brother) is introduced to the guests. He takes a taper sputtering in vegetable oil, lights a lamp with it, and carries the lamp into the courtyard, offers it to Heaven, and all the spirits, burns boughs of cypress, and, accompanied by his brother, makes nine prostrations to Heaven and all the spirits. Returning to the main room, he makes the same offerings and prostrations to his tutelary spirit.

The boy then pours wine for each of the guests, beginning with his maternal uncle, inviting them to drink and be happy. Noodles are then served to all, but the boy's own bowl is only partly filled, in order to allow each of the guests to put some of his noodles in the boy's bowl, congratulating him cordially and wishing him a long and happy life. The significance of this part of the ceremony is that the longevity of the old men present is supposed to be conferred upon the boy, assuring him a long life. I was fortunate enough to witness this simple and wonderful rite and was delighted to see how the old men carried it out in a manner imbued with religious feeling and kindliness.

778 755 Parents who do not "dedicate" a child also protect them with talismans. If they go to a lama, he will write a Tibetan prayer which he wraps in red cotton cloth to be hung around the neck of the child with a thin cord. At night it must be hung on a nail on the wall. If the child forgets to take it off and hang it up, it is considered to have been defiled and must be purified in the smoke of cypress boughs in order to restore its efficacy. If they go to a Chinese Taoist priest, he will write the Chinese character for "longevity" on a sheet of paper, adding a cabalistic design. The paper is then wrapped in red cotton cloth, folded in a triangle, and sewed on the back of the child's clothes. Either a lama or a Taoist priest will perform this service in return for a small present.

• 858 Respect for the lives of children is deeply rooted in the patrilineal family system. The rare instances of infanticide that I noted in my earlier study, *Le mariage chez les T'u-jen* (p. 105) are due to the influence of the Chinese, among whom this practice is not unusual. Among the Monguors, children are the golden threads interwoven in the fabric of life. A mother is bound by her love for her children and rarely leaves her hearth to live with another man. Her orientation toward her children is fortified by the respect for family obligations in which she herself has been brought up. Mothers who are unable to suckle their children easily find another woman in the village who will act as wet nurse. If a mother dies leaving young children, everyone is willing to help take care of them. When a child is sick, the whole village is in a hustle and bustle to try to help save its life, and when a child dies the consternation and sorrow are general and real. The religious observances on behalf of sick children will be discussed in a future work on the religious life of the Monguors. [P. 104 b]

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Women also own personal property, including their clothes and jewelry, which are for the most part presents from the woman's own family. It has also been noted above that it is customary for a girl's maternal uncle to give her, before she is married, some land and calves, or to plant some trees for her, and to give her in addition, when she is married, some land and some more animals. The maternal uncle looks after this property for her. Similarly, sisters entrust their personal treasures to the care of a brother or brothers. Thus a married woman has a kind of insurance in the form of property that is partly in the care of a brother and partly in the care of one of her mother's brothers. (Among the circum-Polar peoples, including the Koryaks, Chukchis, and Lapps there is also "women's property"; livestock belonging to a woman before marriage, or given her by her father at the time of marriage, remain her personal property.) [41]

A woman's property may continue to increase after her marriage. When she goes to visit her own family, they frequently give her presents of cotton cloth, clothes, or money. Monguor women have also adopted from Chinese women the practice of keeping chickens. In the extended family, each daughter-in-law has her own chickens, the eggs of which she collects herself and is allowed to sell. In addition, after the crops are threshed the gleanings on the threshing floor are collected and divided by the daughters-in-law. Similarly when opium is harvested the poppy juice is cooked until it becomes thick and gluey. Each individual family in the extended family cooks its own share of the harvest, which must be poured into the kettle of the head of the family; but each daughter-in-law may keep that part of the opium that sticks to the inside of her own kettle without being scraped off— a valuable saving.

Another perquisite is that when peddlers and traveling merchants come around selling sugar, fruit, candies, and cakes to the women and their children it is not unusual for a daughter-in-law to "steal" a little grain from the family granary, while the parents-in-law pretend not to notice, in order to pay for such purchases.

The jewelry and other little treasures that a woman keeps with her in her husband's family are carefully stored in a locked chest in the woman's own room.

CONCLUSIONS

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The general conclusions to be drawn from these data on family life seems to be that the children are the hub around which the whole Monguor family turns. The chief of the extended family is a happy man at home and is esteemed in the Monguor society only if he has grandchildren; the sons love their wives only when they bear children; the wives feel that they are important in the family only when they have children and sons. The children build up the morale of all the members of the

[41] Hubert Konig, *op. cit.*, 625.

[P. 1096]

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858 family, give them strength and courage in the struggle for the necessities of life, and finally, as I always observed, the love of the grandparents for their grandchildren holds the family united, because only when the grandparents love their children can the daughters-in-law, who are so numerous in the family, forgive each other's and the grandparent's shortcomings and deficiencies. Love for the children is the oil that makes the wheels of the Monguor family turn smoothly. No Monguor can withstand the love displayed for his children.

MORALITY IN THE MONGUOR FAMILY

572 It is a general phenomenon that husbands and wives who really enjoy the delights of a happy family life do not feel the need of indulging themselves with pleasures shocking to each other's feelings. People engrossed the whole year long with the problem of making ends meet, dispose of little time to spend in that way and cannot afford its costs. In order to understand the problem we must take stock of the peculiar conditions under which the members of an extended family live. The sons, with their wives and children, live in the same courtyard, one next to the other, with the chief of the family and his wife among them. Permission for absence must be granted by the chief of the extended family, and because there is only one small gate to enter the courtyard, every visitor is instantly noticed, the reasons for his visit are discussed by all the daughters-in-law, and the length of his stay is well observed. Every one in the courtyard is the guardian of the other members of the family, and so the opportunity for misbehavior at home is reduced to a minimum. These are the conditions of every extended family. There is no secrecy. They live in glass houses. The opportunity for misbehavior in small families consisting of husband, wife, and small children is greater, although these families have next door neighbors whose tongues they cannot prevent from wagging. A married daughter who visits her parents, sometimes for many weeks, is more free since her parents do not have as much commanding influence upon her as when she was a child. Very long visits of married daughters at the home of their parents are discouraged by the older people, who seem to know more about the matter. Attendance at the public meetings when such problems are tackled in the presence of all the very interested villagers and the infliction of dishonorable punishments undoubtedly have a salutary and preventive effect upon the people; but in the Monguor society, as in all other societies, it happens that once in a while somebody falls from grace.

834 It is not allowed to the young folk to tell smutty jokes in public or to sing lascivious songs in the village; at weeding time, however, obscene songs are sung in the open fields and allowance seems to be made for that custom. At public festivities, at the lamaseries and at the general assembly of the clan, men and women are

291 The gown is of dark blue cotton cloth, cut from the neck down and across under the right arm, and buttoned under the arm and down the side. A woman's gown opens on the left side instead of the right, and is worn hanging down to the heels. Men wear a sash or belt, keeping the hem of the gown hanging just a little below the knees, and loosening up the breast of the gown so that it provides a capacious pocket into which they stuff their eating bowls and various odds and ends. When working at home, a man wears a gown roughly woven of white wool. A woman's working gown is woven of black and brown wool. Rich people wear a gown woven of Tibetan wool serge (*p'u-lu*). The ends of the men's sashes are seldom embroidered and on holidays they wear a vest or sleeveless jacket which is much less ornamented than that worn by women.

Men shave the front of the head and grow the hair at the back of the crown long so that it can be braided into a "pigtail" which is lengthened with green strings with tassels at the ends. They wear small, round felt hats.

302 [858] A boy's head is not shaved until he is seven or eight, at which time he begins to braid his hair in a "pigtail." A boy's costume is in general just like that of a man, but with few ornaments.

A man is not allowed to grow a beard as long as his parents are living. A man may begin to grow a beard when he is about the age of thirty if his parents died when he was relatively young. The growing of the beard is started on the first day of either the first or second moon of the new year. Some old men shave their heads clean when they reach the age of about sixty, and women of sixty also frequently cut off their long hair. Both men and women when they do this take vows like those taken by lamas and devote the rest of their lives to prayer in order to provide for a happy rebirth.

306 The only men who wear earrings are those who, described in the chapter on children, have received the "flower of longevity" from a maternal uncle in childhood. Later this "flower of longevity" is replaced by a single large silver earring.

Many men are fond of wearing a bracelet, but only on one wrist. It is usually a heavy copper ring, silver plated and carved with Chinese designs. Nearly all young people wear a bracelet on each wrist, resembling the single bracelet of a grown man. A man also hangs from his belt or sash a sheath containing a knife and chopsticks. Some of these are beautifully carved and ornamented with coral and turquoise.

A man's finger ring is made of two thin, small rings with a broad ring soldered outside them. A piece of coral or turquoise is set in this ring.

173 291 562 The national legends and traditions of the Monguors are associated much more with the striking costumes of the women than with the comparatively simple costumes of the men. Some of these legends have already been mentioned. Another concerns the Li clan of Shat'o Turkish origin which claims as its ancestor the

[P. 1186]

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627 The argument of the judges, before the whole village and the
581 families in question, is very instructive for us. The young man, they
181 said, has not respected the customs of our race, furthermore, he has been unjust with respect to the girl's family; these are grave errors; after the principal accusers, tirades are heard on the necessity of marriage and the indigence of the unfortunate man; finally, he is excused by going back to the extreme obligation to marry. As for the girl, disobedience is censured and the rights of the parents are loudly proclaimed, but she was brave in offering the young man the chance to marry, for marriage is a duty.

We should scarcely admit such reasons; and so I remarked to my catechist and explained to him that in my opinion this was only the commonplace story of a couple who loved each other. "That is possible," he replied, "but it is certain that the young man thought above all of the duty of marriage, and it is poverty which induced him to leave with the girl; as for the girl, she was courageous." It was the same argument. I encountered therefore the same way of thinking in my catechist.

This case would probably be resolved in the same way in the West as in the East, that is to say the union would be legalized; but the motives which would be invoked would be completely different.

/8/ This fact was for me a revelation at the time, and I was able to verify it many times later; it made me acquainted with the T'ou-jen way of thinking on the subject of the general necessity for marriage.

2. Necessity for Male Descendants

858 Another mental habit among the T'ou-jen is an excessive de-
562 sire to see children born, and especially male children.
181 In Europe one is not too concerned when a family has no chil-
581 dren or when there are only girls. Among the T'ou-jen the greatest of misfortunes is the absence of male children. It is necessary to be in the Orient to "live" the text of canon law: Matrimonii finis primarius est procreatio atque educatio prolis /"The primary purpose

/8 cont'd/
858 of marriage is the procreation and rearing of offspring"/. The son is
562 the dream of the Orient. One will resign oneself to poverty, but one
181 will never be consoled for not having a son; one will be consoled over
581 the death of a husband or wife, but one will continue to weep for the loss of an only son. The fact of having no son will be interpreted as a punishment of heaven for sins committed in former lives. One will disregard expenses required for good works and pilgrimages in the interest of producing a male child. Extraordinarily noisy celebrations will be given upon the birth of a first-born son, in which the whole village will take part. The greatest happiness of a T'ou-jen woman will be that of having many sons; so that when one lives in T'ou-jen country, one thinks involuntarily of the Roman mother of the Gracchi presenting her children to her friends, saying, "Here are my jewels." One rarely sees alms refused to the numerous religious and lay beggars; it is because the terrible curse they are accustomed to offer, "Be without descendants," is feared. On the contrary, after receiving alms, the beggar will thank the giver by wishing him a numerous male posterity.

181 We must therefore expect to see matrimonial customs strongly
595 influenced by this way of thinking. Thus, when the wife has no children or no sons, it seems natural /9/ to everyone to take a second wife and even a third. Every T'ou-jen, even the most upright, if means permit, will act in this way. He will not lose the esteem of his fellows in the least for doing so; all of them will even advise him to do so, the most religious man as well as the most pious woman. When the first wife has borne sons, and the husband takes a second, nothing shocking is seen in it, for the more sons one has, the better it is.

I always remember the discussions I had with T'ou-jen friends on the subject of polygamy. I admit that it seemed to me that my arguments did not convince them, even that they were not understood. The good fortune of having sons was for them too sublime an entity to be capable of being put on the same level with the family troubles which polygamy entails; if the bringing up of children of different mothers must leave something to be desired, this disadvantage is a negligible quantity in their eyes, even a quantity of lower order

/127 cont'd/

588 is usually contracted with the prayer pole, called mané kan, which is found in nearly all courtyards of T'ou-jen residences. (It is a pole set up in the middle of the courtyard, at the top of which float streamers on which are printed lamaic prayers in Tibetan characters.) Often the marriage is also contracted with a wall, with a tree which is in front of the house, with the little lion of baked clay which is above all the house roofs, even with a rock, etc.

The girl kneels three times and each time makes three great prostrations as one does at a wedding. She makes the prostrations in the direction of the prayer pole or the tree or the object she is supposed to be marrying; at the same time she says each time, "Heaven has combed my hair, the prayer pole, etc. is my husband..."; then she makes the same prostrations to her parents and the others present.

588 The children resulting from such a "marriage" are called t'ien
848 cheng tse, i.e., "begotten by heaven," and they bear the name of the mother's family. /128/ These kinds of marriages are not at all numerous, for the reason that nearly all girls are given in marriage at an early age. They occur from time to time, especially in certain regions. The vicinities of Wei-iuen p'ou, Hong-ngai-tse-keou, and San-tch'oan are the regions where these practices are most frequent.

They occur more rarely in families where there are married sons; they are found most often in families where there are only one or two daughters. These women very often remain in this condition all their lives and continue to become mothers; others do not persist in this abnormal state and end up by marrying someone of their choice.

I have classified this practice in the series of marriages because it creates for the mother and children a legal position identical to that which marriage creates for the married couple and their offspring. In addition, its purpose is manifestly the procreatio et educatio prolis "the procreation and rearing of offspring"/ of the mother's clan.

858 As a matter of fact, the child born of this kind of marriage be-
588 comes legitimate heir of its mother's family; it is, they say, wai-cheng ting kieou-kieou, i.e., "the son of a daughter holds the rank of maternal uncle." Even if there are sons in the family who have children, the son of the woman in question will become heir by the

/128 cont'd/

858 same right as his cousins, sons of his mother's brothers. The reason
588 given for this is that the mother, at the time of her son's birth, was no longer a girl but quite married, since she was wearing her hair in the fashion of wives. But suppose that the young woman, as a result of difficulties with a sister-in-law or with her parents, or having simply found a match which she likes, marries again at a "second" wedding, then she can either take her son with her, and he loses
[428] ipso facto his rights to inheritance in his mother's family, and he must change his family name and inherit in the family of his new father (for by the change of name he falls into the category of adoptive children), or else the grandmother opposes the departure /129/ of her daughter's son, and he stays in his mother's family, keeping his rights.

848 It often happens that neither the grandmother nor the mother
792 keeps the child but that they entrust him to a lamasery. Lamas no
178 longer having the right of inheritance, these children disappear from public life. This category of children are sent to the lamasery probably to avoid difficulties which arise later at the time of the division of property, either on the part of the uncles or the nephews, just as when the mother takes the child to the home of her new husband and the latter adopts him as his son, which makes one suppose that these children's right to inherit is nowadays no longer very stable. One feels a period of transition in the customs. We are here in the presence of a practice which must have been more general in olden times and which has its roots in an organization which is not patriarchal.

562 These girl-mothers are received in all groups and are regarded
588 as virtuous women in spite of the fact that people know this custom is
593 considered abominable in the eyes of their Chinese neighbors. These women are recognized as being married; for, they say, their marriage took place in the manner of the marriage of girls, in the courtyard of the house, in front of the sacred fire. Their children are recognized as children of the clan, and they are given the name of their mother. In T'ou-jen families, when a brother dies, leaving only daughters, his brothers inherit his property; the daughters indeed do not inherit; but when this brother has a daughter of the category of which we

588 /131 cont'd/
574 children born later will continue to be always given the name of the
[858] guest. It goes without saying that the latter does not bother in any way with the support of either the child or the woman.

[428] Important remark: No right of inheritance is recognized for these children in the family of their mother. They are considered as the children of a daughter married to some individual, for they bear another name; now, another name, another family.

588 This curious custom finds its place in the series of marriages
554 because it creates a legal position in favor of the mother identical in every way to that of any married woman. The woman married to a belt is considered the wife of husband X and no one will ever venture to abduct her.

588 /132/ Marriages to a belt and those to prayer poles resemble each other strongly; the manner of celebrating them is the same; women who have contracted these marriages are considered as duly married, and the children, in the two groups, are recognized as legitimate. The only difference between the two groups of marriages lies in the fact that those of the prayer-pole group are recognized by the mother's clan, and those of the other are considered as not belonging to this clan. Those of the prayer-pole group seem to be direct vestiges of one of the stages of the matriarchate; indeed, they bring about inheritance in the family by the daughter. Those of the second group, on the contrary, by the fact that the woman and the children are considered as having left the clan, do not seem to have this origin; but if the prayer-pole marriages had not existed formerly, those of the belt group would never have been practiced.

588 The following item throws a singular light on this category of
593 marriages. A certain Tchang-kia-pa of Hong-ngai-tsé-keou had a daughter married to a belt, mother of a small child; in addition, he had a married son at home. As a consequence of continual friction between the daughter married to the belt and the daughter-in-law, the first sought a match, married, and left the paternal home, taking away her son. Thus a certain Hou Iu-leang bought her as his second wife for the sum of 200 strings of cash.

After five or six years, at the time of the great fair and festivities of Wei iuen-p'ou which take place in the second moon, a

M /141 cont'd/
586 sum or to find signers and go-betweens, for nobody wants to expose
672 himself to the vengeance of the family of the repudiated wife. I knew a case where all was ready for the repudiation of a woman who was claimed to be badly formed physically. Since the family was
M [762] rich, it was on the point of turning up its nose at all threats. At the last moment it changed its mind when it learned that the wife had just procured opium to end her life.

M Thus those who do not fear exposing themselves to such troubles
586 will repudiate their wives. Fortunately, these people are extremely
432 rare.

It must therefore be admitted that in this respect the T'ou-jen have not undergone the pernicious influence of their neighbors and masters, the Chinese, among whom repudiation and the sale of the wife often occur in normal times. One will never see T'ou-jen women sold in great numbers in time of famine as is seen in China even today. One will not meet T'ou-jen who will take a mortage on their wives, as I have seen happen twice among the Chinese. One will never see the T'ou-jen put a woman on the mountain of filial piety as I once saw done. Although with them the wife must work very hard, she is more highly esteemed and respected than in China.

M If, however, repudiation does take place, they begin by getting
586 go-betweens, who will go to consult with the wife's family. When the discussions have reached an end and the money demanded has been promised, the contract is written and signed as for divorce. The go-between, after bringing the promised sum to the family of the
M repudiated woman, /142/ will go to get the latter and present her to
● [858] her parents. The children in this case stay with the husband's family. (1)

HM 1. Timkovski, Voyage à Péking, Vol. 2,
586 p. 313: (Mongols.) Divorce is very frequent; the least dissatisfaction on one side or the other is enough to have it declared. If the husband wants to be separated from his wife without a

[621 cont.]
loaves of bread are round, about 30 to 40 centimeters in diameter, and about five centimeters thick. They have a large round hole in the center (1).

1. [Foreign text p. 622.] I learned nothing about the significance of the large round hole in the loaves of bread.

Other acquaintances and relatives also appear with gifts for the child, usually material for little dresses, blue for a boy, red for a girl.

Name-giving: On the morning of the same day the spear-soothsayer is invited. After he has drunk his morning tea, the master of the household gives the great incense offering in the yard, and the soothsayer divines whether he himself or the master of the family should give the child its name, and which name the spirit desires.

If the soothsayer gives the name, then bread, tea, and butter are brought on a tray. The mother takes the child in her arms and places herself in front of the soothsayer. The latter sets the spear aside, takes some butter from the tray with his finger, smears it on the child's forehead, and says, for example: "He shall be called mountain-spirit." This signifies that the child is consecrated to the mountain-spirit and will be called by its name (3). After that he takes bread and offers it to the

3. [Foreign text p. 622.] The Tujen like to give names that refer to a spirit, for example: guänbō-sdzia, that is, dedicated to the Guämbo; ifulā sdzia, dedicated to the mountain-spirit; xaldan sẽrãn (Tib.) (5) [see Note 5 immediately following this note], golden palace; lasdze sẽrãn, pass-peak-palace; tuguän ula, mountain of the Tuguän. Girls' names are popularly given for special reasons, for example, tayin mdzuo, "full fifty," because